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THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONDER TOKEN COLLECTOR’S CLUB

Summer 2017 Consecutive Issue #74



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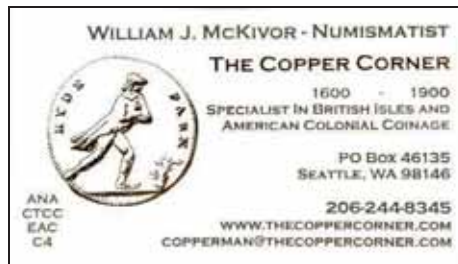
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New Members

A warm welcome to our newest members:

609	Dan Lesicko	Glen Carbon	IL
610	Chris Bower	Indianapolis	IN
611	Jeffrey Burke	Rockaway	NJ

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE July 2017

Dear Friends,

It would be nice to have the weather settle down , not be full of floods and snow and blizzards, or 118 degrees in places, a nice calm 75 would be just fine with most of us. Shall hope you are in one of the nicer areas and are not suffering from heat.

Last time, I mentioned that Stephan Fenton had purchased Baldwins---he did but selectively. He bought their mailing list, and the right to hold auctions as Baldwin's of St. James. Mr. Fenton did not buy the tokens from the basement, but simply had them on consignment. It appears that they shall have another consignment of them in October, on the 4th.

In June of this year they had their first token sale, 190 lots, which seemed to be successful. The tokens were from Baldwin's Basement, so were worth a look---which I did on line, and with a catalogue. Many pieces were superb, but there was

some falling off of quality, so one had to look at them. In the fall, I shall preview them.

DNW has a sale on the 3rd of October, I'll have to look at what they have to determine if I can leave bids or have to be there. Still a fun game.

I really have to thank all the workers that make the club possible. Jon Lusk, who has the technical expertise and writing skills needed, has been for a good while our Journal editor---Scott Loos collects and keeps track of the money, Eric Holcomb keeps track of membership, Alan Judd holds sway from Derbyshire, England, as Vice President, Gary Sriro grumbles his way to getting the Journal printed and mailed, always done quickly, and Ed Moore, our librarian, is that and so much more. Ed, on his own dime, bought a huge fancy scanner that was capable of taking items out of bound books, and he scanned, for publication, all of our back journals. This was no small job. These journals are now up on our web site, and each member has a password to get into the archives, where the journals reside. If you do not have a password, let me know. But, having them all on line is something we have worked for.

We need help. The above folks labor for free, and we wish to find more of this sort of help (hint hint), to get the system working better than it does. If you have any experience in IT, or knowledge of Facebook and how to use it, let us know. We need people that have that sort of knowledge. So many of us in the hobby simply do not.

Also, we need folks to consider running for office. Any and all offices could be vacated, so if you will help your club, please toss your hat into the ring.

Token Congress this year at Warwick, wonderful place, October 6, 7, 8.

If you need help arranging to get there, let me know.

All the best, Bill McKivor



More Regarding Thompson's Spence Obverse Z

By Harry E. Salyards, CTCC #11

In the Spring 2014 issue of the *Journal*, in "The 50 Dies of Thomas Spence," I extended the thesis of R. H. Thompson's article in the 1969 *British Numismatic Journal*, suggesting that another half-dozen dies he attributed to Spence were also on suspect ground. This attribution problem arose in the first place when documented Spence dies passed out of his hands into the control of others, notably Skidmore, who muled them with other dies antithetical to Spence's political philosophy. It was further aggravated when Dalton & Hamer placed a host of obvious non-Spence dies in their "Spence" section of Middlesex halfpence. This notably included six "End of Pain" dies, two "Pandora's Breeches" dies (which were created at least two years before Spence's entry into the token field), three "Wrongs of Man" dies, bearing the date of Louis XVI's beheading, one "Noted Advocates" die, with three hanging men, obviously mocking Spence's own "Noted Advocates" die, and several others with related Royalist sentiments. By a quick count, I find a total of 98 different dies in the "Spence" section of D & H!

Today, with the online availability of those volumes of *The Gentleman's Magazine* that Thompson cited among his references, I believe it's possible to take the pulse of the token market as it existed in 1796-1797. This in turn will help explain the context for one "Spence" die that I dismissed out of hand in my 2014 article: Thompson's Obverse Z (the 'Narrow-Wreathed' Druid). This was published by Denton on July 21, 1796, paired with Spence's Little Turnstile die. Examining the Denton volume plate by plate, it becomes apparent that this was one of *many* nonsensical die marriages that he published in the latter half of 1796. And several contemporary issues of *The Gentleman's Magazine* reveal that, for this performance, *he was taken to task by contemporary collectors!*

Specifically, in his July 11, 1796 installment, Denton illustrated four Druid Head dies in the left-hand column, paired with four typical Parys Mining Company reverse dies in the right-hand column, on both plates 103 and 104. Then on plate 105, the uppermost pair of illustrations is another reasonable marriage: Druid Head and 1793 North Wales halfpenny. But the other three illustrations pair up Druid Head obverses nonsensically with reverses originally used with the Prince of Wales' Crest obverse, by W. Williams of London:

Wheatsheaf, "Peace Plenty & Liberty": Middlesex 918
Anchor & Liberty Cap, "Liberty Peace Commerce": Middlesex 919
Arms of London, "Fear God and Honour the King": Middlesex 915-917
[illustrated in Pye (1795) Plate 25, dated May 1, 1795]

Then, in his July 21, 1796 installment, on plate 106, Denton illustrates four more Druid Heads in the left-hand column, paired with four more nonsensical pairings in the right-hand column:

Guildford Halfpenny: Surrey 9-10 [the latter with "Liberty Peace Commerce" *reverse*]
Salop Woollen Manufactory: Shropshire 25 (Shrewsbury)
Associated Irish Mines Co., with "17 94" divided by Shield: Wicklow 35
Spence's Little Turnstile, listed by D & H as Anglesey 425.

Dalton & Hamer saw this for what it was: "Prattent, along with Denton, published 'The Virtuoso's Companion.' The tokens, struck at the instance of both, are not included in the Pye

list, and, being muled with others, may be regarded as ‘for sale to collectors’ rather than for currency.” (Introduction to the Middlesex halfpence)

If anything, this *understates* the degree of *contemporary outrage* over the random ‘muling’ of dies to create rarities for collectors. As Charles Pye himself wrote, in the “Advertisement” to his first edition, “Toward the latter end of the year 1794, and the beginning of 1795, it became quite a trade to manufacture [coppers], and prodigious quantities of them were issued, some payable, other not payable. . .and lately dies have been executed for the sole purpose of furnishing the collectors, the productions* not being intended for circulation. . .” *

* “Dudley, Brighton, and several others, were not even known to be in existence at the respective towns from whence they derive their names.”

This is dated September 1, 1795. He continued the discussion in *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, December 1796, page 991: “So long as they were manufactured with reputation, it was to me a pleasing study; but, when they were counterfeited for the worst of purposes, *to impose upon the publick*, the obverses and reverses mixed on purpose to make variety, and the inscription on the edges varied for the same purpose, it became a matter of surprise to me that the collectors would suffer themselves to be duped in this manner. On examining Mr. Birchall’s description of them [dated January 30, 1796], the great mass will be found to consist in these varieties.”

Meanwhile, Pye had found a sympathetic audience in a collector who signed himself merely R. Y., “to avoid the importunity of addresses.” R. Y. stated (*Gentleman’s Magazine*, September 1796, page 753): “The traffick on this sort of article has now got to so great a height, and is so systematically promoted by means of printed catalogues and other publications, that it seems full time to endeavour at the relief of a number of well-meaning individuals from the frauds which are creeping upon them.”

“Systematically promoted by means of printed catalogues. . .”—hmm. In the April 1797 issue of *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, page 268, R. Y. points the finger more directly: “A publication is now carrying on by a person of the name of Denton, who professes to be a dealer in coins. I find in 7 of his plates 8 of his dies, which should constitute 4 tokens, so interchanged as to constitute 12 tokens, farthing-size.” Checking the specific plates cited, indeed, four “Jeffrey Dunstan” and four “Denton Dealer in Coins Hospital Gate Smithfield” dies were thus recombined. These plates were dated October 13 and 24, 1796. He goes on to note, “Mr. Denton has, in the same publication, given representations, in the course of 18 plates, of 30 tokens of the farthing-size, which fairly might be comprised in 12.” These include five nonsensical Anglesey mules, published September 12, 1796, and a whole intermixture of “End of Pain,” Skidmore, and genuine Spence dies, published December 7 and 24, 1796.

As R. Y. challenged Denton (also on page 268 of the April 1797 issue), “To what is this inundation of tokens, and repetition of impressions, to be attributed? Not to an absolute want of others; for, I believe, there are yet remaining 10 half-penny tokens, which have been represented by Mr. Pye, and which Mr. Denton, who has extended his publication from 120 to 157 plates [ultimately 240—Ed.], has not yet found leisure to give us; all of them good; some of them amongst the best and earliest tokens.”

To what *do* we attribute this inundation of tokens? *Making money*. (A coin dealer running a promotion! Who knew?) American collectors may see a parallel in the current productions of the U. S. Mint, offering various non-circulating collector “coins” in various combinations and finishes.

Well, Charles Pye, student and engraver of the provincial halfpence, knew—and it had soured him on continuing to collect the series. R. Y. knew, and called Denton’s bluff. Not that that stopped him—as ultimately recorded by Dalton & Hamer, he paired several Druid dies in a total of nine nonsensical mules, not all of which were published in *The Virtuoso’s Companion*:

Wheatsheaf: Anglesey 420
Anchor & Lib. Cap: Anglesey 423
Arms of London: Anglesey 421
Guildford: Anglesey 422
Salop Woollen: Anglesey 427
Little Turnstile: Anglesey 425
Spence Bookseller, 9-lines: Anglesey 424
Pandora’s Breeches: Anglesey 426
Asso. Irish Mines: Wicklow 35

And R. Y.’s criticism that Denton put the publication of exotic mules ahead of documenting token die pairs already in existence, was certainly true for legitimate Spence die pairs. Between August 11, 1796 (the Dog-Cat die pairing) and July 29, 1797 (after Prattent had extended the publication project), no legitimate Spence die pairs were published in *The Virtuoso’s Companion*, even though all that were subsequently published had been in existence by the time of Birchall’s list (January 30, 1796).

In his February 20, 1797 letter to *The Gentleman’s Magazine* (published in the April issue, page 269), R. Y. noted that he had “not long since called at Spence’s shop, and saw many thousands of different tokens lying in heaps, and selling at what struck me to be very great prices.” Having “heaps” of tokens for sale says nothing about current control of the dies that struck them. Denton’s weird mules suggest that at least a couple of these—the Spence Bookseller with its 9-line inscription, and the Little Turnstile—were out of Spence’s control by mid-1796. It’s worth remembering that Thompson, in discussing the pair of “T / Spence / Bookseller” dies, suggested that “the absence of any early record of impressions from [these dies] presumably indicates that they were considered to be shop tickets rather than tokens.” (Thompson, 1969, page 131) The “Little Turnstile” would reasonably fall into the same category. If the pieces struck by these dies are indeed “shop tickets”—what American collectors would call “store cards”—what difference would it make to Spence if they *were* turned to nonsensical die marriages? ‘His’ side of the tokens thus created would continue to keep his name, and shop location, before the public!

But those days were quickly coming to a close. In a follow up letter of May 7, 1797 (published in the June issue of *The Gentleman’s Magazine*, page 471), R.Y. puts a period to Spence’s involvement in token-making: “I have been informed that Mr. Spence has quitted the business of dealing in coins, and has disposed of his dies principally, if not entirely, to a dealer in Holbourn. *I think I can safely enumerate above 40 dies of the half-penny size. . .*” [emphasis added] In this estimate, R. Y. was clearly closer to the truth than Dalton & Hamer, with their 98 dies in the “Spence” section! This in itself should make us very suspicious of any “Spence” die not documented by early 1796, at the very latest.

References

The Gentleman's Magazine, Volume 66, Part 2, July-December 1796

The Gentleman's Magazine, Volume 67, Part 1, January-June 1797
[both available online at <https://catalog.hathitrust.org>]

Provincial Copper Coins or Tokens, issued between the Years 1787 and 1796, engraved by Charles Pye, of Birmingham, from the Originals in his own Possession.
Published for the Engraver, by John Nichols, Red-Lion passage, Fleet Street, and T. Egerton, Whitehall, London; and Tho^s Pearson, Birmingham.

Thompson, R. H.: "The Dies of Thomas Spence (1750-1714)", in *The British Numismatic Journal*, Volume XXXVIII, 1969, pp. 126-162

The Virtuoso's Companion and Coin Collectors Guide. 8 volumes bound as 2.
London: Published for the Proprietor by M. Denton, N^o 139 S^t John's S^t, West Smithfield, 1797

Cody Kreischer---1958-2017

I never met Cody. We shared a love of tokens, usually our subject. Over time, we discussed a bit about family life, not getting into it all that much, but found out about his train layout. He had it set up in his basement and his children and other neighbor kids came over and spent fun time with the layout. I had a train set, given to me at age 8, in 1948 and was always disappointed that I did not have any male children or grandchildren to play with it. Cody shared his train sets with others, so my train set went to him to add to the layout.

I had not heard from him for the past year, and wondered what happened ---- The answer came the other day, after a fight with Cancer, he was taken from us on June 13 2017. He was 59 years old. I received the news from his wife, Tina.

Cody was an expert in the optical design field, and his business, Kreischer Optics, Ltd was one of the most influential lens manufacturers in the USA. He is survived by his wife, Tina, his sister, his 5 children, and two grandchildren. He had a zest for life, was loved by all who knew him. He had a wonderful outlook on life--, and shared what he had.

Token collecting was a small part of his life, but apparently an important one, and we will miss him. I, and the entire token collecting community, have lost a genuinely nice man.

Bill McKivor

WHEN YOU HAVE A HAMER, EVERY PROBLEM LOOKS LIKE A DALTON

Some Thoughts on Our Hobby Bible

By Jeff Rock

To those of us afflicted with the Madness of Collecting, one of the most important things required to move along the path from mere interest to complete obsession is to have a first-rate reference book, preferably one full of history, photographs and as complete a listing of the material in question as possible. While an intrepid few can collect virgin territories devoid of useful reference books, it's difficult for most to know just what it is you want when you don't know what is actually out there to collect. Case in point? Early date U.S. large cents have a rabid following (and ever-increasing prices) thanks to a century and a half of reference works delineating die varieties in text and photos, plus rarity, Condition Census and pricing information easily available and constantly updated. Compare that to less-loved series like, for example, U.S. 2-cent pieces, which have few reference works and limited data available on die varieties and rarity. People still collect them, sure, though usually just by date or as a type coin – and the word “rabid” has yet to be uttered in conjunction with this series.

Luckily for those of us involved in a series far more interesting than 2-cent pieces, we have a wonderful standard reference in the Richard Dalton & S. H. Hamer work, which has extensive listings, rarity information, photographs and historical details – and it has been corrected, expanded and added to in the century since its publication began (including supplemental books, many articles in journals and information in auction catalogues). While not “perfect” (what is?), D&H gives us much of the information we need to collect this series, including the most important thing for most collectors – pretty pictures of nearly every variety. But despite running close to 600 pages the book oddly gives us no real basic definition of just what a “Conder”¹ token really is.

Or does it? The obvious place to look for this information would be in the introduction to the book, but here we find no real help. The authors spend a single sentence in the first paragraph discussing why the tokens were made and a few more sentences on why they came to an end – but nowhere do they tell us exactly what parameters they used to decide if a token was to be listed or not. That is partially because the ground had been covered by earlier authors (a discussion of these earlier works makes up nearly all the rest of the Introduction in D&H and is worth reading to have an understanding of what came before) and they assumed perhaps that people just knew what was covered. But despite including thousands of different tokens in its pages– or perhaps BECAUSE of that number – there remains some confusion over just what the

¹ Once again, apologies to British collectors who don't use the phrase “Conder” tokens except to refer to those pieces actually struck by James Conder. To American ears and eyes the constant repetition of “18th Century Provincial Tokens” doesn't flow, so we will continue to use these two terms interchangeably and note that both refer to the entire series of tokens listed in Dalton & Hamer.

book includes. And what it does not – and, even more importantly, WHY something may not be included. So let's take a closer look at The Book² and see if we can figure it out.

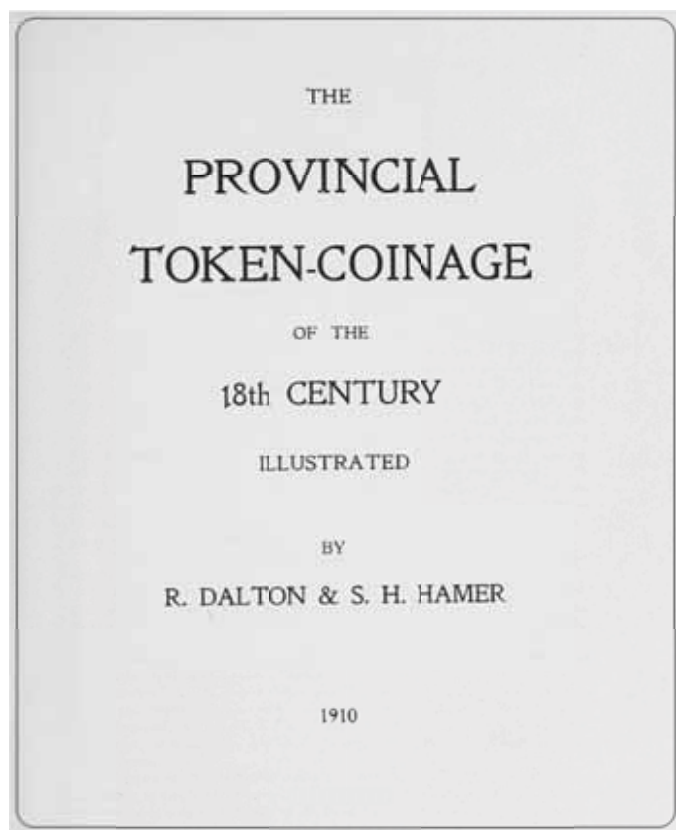


Figure One: Left: The title page of the Dalton & Hamer reference. Meet the authors: Richard Dalton top right and S. H. Hamer (next to a rather imposing looking coin cabinet!) bottom right. Dalton image courtesy of Harold Welch, Hamer image courtesy of Gary Groll.

The title of the work offers some clues, but still leaves much vague: **“The Provincial Token Coinage of the 18th Century.”** In order of importance to the collector perhaps, let's look at the words used in the title.

By “token coinage” we know that these were privately issued pieces, not official coin of the realm. Though the “coinage” part of the title could confuse matters the word was here used to convey the actual act of minting (i.e. striking a planchet with dies), not any sort of quasi-official status as in “coin of the realm.” That said, many of these tokens were used as coinage substitutes, and even if they had no legal standing as such the more honest merchants redeemed their tokens for actual coinage on demand (though much of the copper coin in circulation at the time was counterfeit so someone wanting to exchange a token for a halfpenny stood a very real risk of getting a coin that weighed less and was worse made than the token they redeemed!).

More confusing is the fact that a number of the pieces listed in D&H are clearly not “tokens” as we would describe them today – some would be considered historical medals and

² While we think of D&H as an actual book it was not issued as such. It was issued in separate chapters, the first section in 1910 and the final section in 1918. Collectors then bound these chapters together into a single book. Subsequent reprints (which are what most collectors today use) were done as a single book.

We are in the position of not being able to say “ALL tokens of this period are covered,” but rather “the book includes an in-depth look at some types of tokens, ignores some others, but includes some stuff that probably doesn't strictly belong in the book.” That, of course, is not a serious complaint. No numismatic book is complete and free from error, and a book like this built on over a century of earlier publications, most of which also ignored areas like the evasions and included many of the more medalllic issues as well. Radical departures from precedent would surely have led to complaint – and made the book far less useful than it has been, and for such a long period of time. Both the authors were also enthusiastic collectors and they would have a vested interest in making sure that the things they owned—which they therefore considered relevant – were included in their book. Now and again they note that something isn't exactly a token, but they list it anyway. In the immortal word of Fiddler on the Roof: TRADITION!



Figure Three: Three different evasion coppers with three very different treatments by Dalton & Hamer. Top Left: George Gordon/Irish Halfpenny (Cobwright G.0060/I.0030) is listed by D&H as Dublin 12 and uses an Irish Halfpenny die which was used on other tokens and mules they listed. Top Right: Washington North Wales Halfpenny (Cobwright G.0120/N.0190) is NOT listed by D&H despite the fact that the reverse die WAS used elsewhere in the series (Warwickshire 330 and 468). Bottom: W. Williams evasion (Cobwright P.0030/N.0180) which features a name on the obverse and a location on the reverse but was not included by D&H, even though the name used was one also used on several tokens they did list (Middlesex 913-922); the Williams surname was used on a half dozen different evasion coppers!

“Provincial” is relatively clear – this would imply something concerning one or more distinct provinces of a country or empire – but just what provinces will be covered? Clearly in the D&H book we get all of what we today think of as the core United Kingdom: England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales, and each of those get their own section in the book, the British the largest because more tokens were issued there, the Scottish section the smallest. But all the other parts of the British Empire that weren’t actually IN the British Isles are not covered in this work (despite a few American pieces slipping in - though most of these were at least struck in England in the time period as the others and often by the same makers). While the American colonies had been free for half a decade when the tokens mainly listed in the book were struck, the Canadian territory to the north was not even remotely touched upon, nor were any of the islands or other possessions of the burgeoning Empire. This despite coins of Bermuda, Sierra Leone and elsewhere being included in most of the earliest books on this series, written literally while these pieces were being struck, including pieces that were made by Matthew Boulton while he was also striking tokens! One suspects the authors discussed the geographical boundaries their book would cover – though there is perhaps still a faint whiff of colonialism with their decision. These are the provinces that matter, the rest are not significant enough to be included here (but we won’t raise objections to someone else writing a book on them!).

Then there’s the “18th Century” part of the title. At first glance one would assume that involved tokens dated from 1700-1799, give or take a year on either side depending on your idea of when a century starts and ends. But in reality the work deals with mostly just the last thirteen years of the 18th century – and even includes some pieces dated into the first decade of the 19th century. To be sure, there are a few tokens that are dated earlier than 1787, but these are either issues with false dates (such as backdated counterfeits or pieces that bear a historical date such as

the year a city was founded) or pieces that really weren't properly part of this series to begin with – things that were tokens yes, but not part of the series that started with the Anglesey Druid issues in 1787; this group would include the Kent 23 brass hop token illustrated in Figure Two for instance. This was probably a difficult issue to navigate since the number of British tokens issued rivals the immense French jeton series both in sheer quantity struck and the number of years they were made. Indeed, the 6000+ varieties of 18th century tokens issued in Britain pale in number to the 25,000 or so issued in the 17th century.³ Given the ubiquity of tokens in the life of most Brits it's safe to say that there would surely be some issued some years before or after the larger series that wouldn't technically be part of it, but are close enough in time and style that not listing them would cause more confusion. There are also a few pieces included in error that were made as late as the 1850's (though backdated). Even more curious, there is a group of nineteenth century tokens included in the Scotland section, with no rhyme or reason other than perhaps to fill a few pages so that section could be sent to the printers! There are, of course, a large number of 19th century tokens from other parts of the U.K. that don't make it into any of the pages in D&H (and indeed have separate reference works of their own). Clearly someone searching for a British or Irish token from, say, 1750 would likely be out of luck searching for it in the pages of D&H even though the title would make this book the obvious place to look.

But those are minor faults – and collectors who have an interest in the series know, of course, just what is covered in the book and what is not – and new collectors quickly learn.

Now let's take a look at the EFFECTS that have occurred because of the choices the authors made about what appeared between the covers of their book.



(Picture continued on next page)

³ The George C. Williamson series of three (large) reference books lists about 14,000 different tokens including die varieties. Others have been found since that time, many of which were first published in the *Norweb Collection sylloges* edited by R. H. Thompson and Michael Dickinson; the latter also wrote a one-volume work on the series that provides a superb introduction to the series.



Figure Four: Six tokens illustrating problems with dates. Top Left: Middlesex 3 with a 1760 date – struck prior to the era of Provincial tokens which started in 1787 and probably shouldn't have been included in the book. Top Right: a 1760-dated Irish token of Frank McMinn that was not listed at all by D&H – though if the previous token was allowed in then this one should have been too. Middle Left: Anglesey 141, one of the Druid tokens but a counterfeit dated 1784 – three years before the tokens were first struck. Middle Right: Dublin 200, one of the Camac issues, this one a counterfeit dated 1792 instead of the correct 1792, outside of the 18th century the book covers – but one that obviously could not be excluded since the date was a diecutting error (though one wonders if anyone noticed they were handed a coin dated nearly 200 years in the future!). Bottom Left: Dublin 4, bearing an 1804 date – outside of the 18th century as well though economic conditions in Ireland allowed for tokens to be struck there slightly longer than in England. Bottom Right: Middlesex 212, a Washington piece dated 1789, though bearing no legend that relates to England and a piece that should not have been included in the D&H text because of that – but especially so since even though it has a 1789 date it wasn't minted until 1863 and was actually struck in America to boot!

The biggest problem facing the authors, touched upon earlier, was probably what to include or exclude from their book, an issue that was especially vexing since the concept of the series is – purposely – somewhat vague. Inclusion in a major reference work would insure greater interest from collectors for a particular piece – and that, of course, would lead to a higher price than if a token remained unlisted or tied to a less-popular area to collect. For instance, the large series of architectural medals would have certainly been collectible, but if they weren't listed in D&H their audience would be a fraction of those that now pursue them, and the laws of supply and demand mean that prices would thus be lower. That would be true even if someone eventually wrote a book solely on them – a specialized book would have fewer readers than one that covered a much larger series. While there might be a dozen or two collectors chasing architectural medals if there was only a specialized book on them, their inclusion in D&H gives them wider exposure and means that those trying to collect the whole book will also be competing for those tokens, and the addition or subtraction of just a few collectors can have a dramatic difference on price, especially for tokens that may have just a few dozen examples known. These tokens that have been “grandfathered in” – for a century or two—are now firmly part of the series, even if they do not belong there. While articles can be written extolling at length why they don't belong and individual collectors may turn up their noses at them, more collectors will pursue them simply because they are there. This makes the writing of an entirely new reference work problematical – delisting pieces will be a financial loss to those who collected them because they were then part of the series (and will invariably lead to the discovery of “new, unlisted” varieties that had been previously listed). Messrs. Dalton & Hamer effectively handcuffed future researchers—one reason a century has passed and we are still using the same reference book that our great-grandparents might have used when it was new!

The next largest problem after the “what” is the “where.” Many tokens solve that dilemma literally on their face (or edge). If a token gives the name and address of an issuer, it's easy enough to place it in the correct county. But many tokens aren't kind enough to state that

information and the authors had to guess at a locale – and sometimes they guessed wrong. The most glaring error was made on what is actually a fairly common token as a whole, those of John Wilkinson, the Iron Master, which are listed as being from Warwickshire (numbers 336-474 inclusive in that chapter). Neither the obverse nor reverse of the token mentions a place of issue, and the authors *modus operandi* was to then look at the edge. In this instance the real, authorized issues have an edge reading WILLEY SNEDSHILL BERHSAM BRADLEY, which were the towns that the tokens could be redeemed. There IS a tiny village of Willey in Warwickshire (which had a population of just over 100 people in the last census), but it was the wrong village for the authors to choose! One of Wilkinson's iron works was in a different Willey, in the county of Shropshire (which is even smaller than the other Willey is today, with just 4 farms and the majority of land owned and leased by just one family) – and Shropshire is where these issues should have been placed. The error was easy enough to make even though a number of books on Wilkinson could have pointed the authors to the right Willey. But the fact that the authors relied solely on the first town listed on an edge inscription means that they could just as easily placed any Wilkinson tokens with different edges into widely different counties – or even countries! A Wilkinson with an edge that read PAYABLE IN ANGLESEY LONDON OR LIVERPOOL could have thus been classified as a Welsh token if they followed their methods to the extreme. Thankfully they chose not to go down that rabbit hole (though a couple 18th century authors did at least start down path). This again has affected collectors since – we are stuck listing our Wilkinson tokens with the Warwickshire numbers which distorts them from their true history and means most auction catalogues and writers need to add a blurb about where they were really struck.



Figure Five: While definitely a token, and definitely of the right period for inclusion in the D&H work, this example of Hampshire 13 has a problem – nowhere does it actually mention anything to do with Hampshire, and the edge reads PAYABLE AT LONDON LIVERPOOL OR BRISTOL which would argue for it being included in the Middlesex section. But the dies are similar to (but not the same as) Hampshire 15 which does bear Hampshire-relevant edge lettering so the authors grouped all similar pieces together.

Other tokens are even less hospitable to guesswork and the authors apparently succumbed to the Victorian need to classify everything and put it into some kind of order. Saying “I don't know” or “Your guess is as good as mine” weren't options (though a few Scottish tokens and a post-printing discovery did get called “Not Local,” a catch-all category that earlier authors had used for things they couldn't assign to any set town or county). Instead D&H put some things in certain locales because they shared a die with a token from that series or had some other similarity that made it at least close enough. A good case in point is the Hampshire section – some of which make no mention of anything in that county. The Emsworth pieces (Hampshire 9-39) have just one die, used on number 9, that actually has a location in Hampshire on the obverse or reverse (though some others have it on the edge) – but the others in this group are die-linked or are part of a run of dies featuring Earl Howe. The Howe family did eventually live in

Hampshire, but when these tokens were struck the good Earl lived in London, and when he died in 1799 he was buried in Nottingham – so why the authors chose to put the tokens with his visage on them in Hampshire is anyone’s guess! But they had to go somewhere, so why not Hampshire. The problem of the evasion coppers mentioned earlier would also come into play here – while they could have all been listed under Warwickshire since they were made in Birmingham that would have made as little sense as listing every token struck by Matthew Boulton at his Soho Mint as a Warwickshire piece simply because that was where they were made as well. When pieces are placed in counties without much reason they become difficult to find, especially in a book that is nearly 600 pages long! The index can sometimes help, but often what you are searching for isn’t in the index at all. This downside actually has a silver lining though – when one searches the book for something you invariably find something else interesting and you pause and read.

Another problem – for later collectors at least – is exactly what a “complete” set consists of. The Provincial token series is, of course, quite different from the issues of a given country, ruler, official, or even private mint – whether it’s a U.S. large cent, Soho Mint cartwheel tuppences, pioneer gold, Swiss shooting medals or modern Euro coinage, there is an idea out there of the complete whole, and anything that fits those criteria is automatically part of that series, while anything that does not is excluded. A new find can easily be fit into the series it belongs to without much effort – one wouldn’t find a new variety of early date large cent and call it a colonial coin for instance.

But “Conder” tokens just don’t offer this kind of clear boundary. While the series technically begins with the 1787 Parys Mine tokens from Anglesey, the D&H book of course doesn’t limit itself to only those issues or tokens only of this sort which were used to pay workers in a time where there was little official coinage in circulation. As described above, it also does not deal with all aspects of 18th century token coinage, just the dozen or so years following those Parys Mine pieces (and, as mentioned, some issues dating from the early 19th century and a handful of earlier and even later tokens). So how does one truly ascertain a beginning and an ending for the series? Mr. D and Mr. H surely had these discussions – as did Birchall, Spence, Pye, Conder and Atkins before them. Does one include pieces struck in England, but which may not have circulated there, such as the various George Washington and “colonial American” issues like the Kentucky and Talbot, Allum & Lee tokens? And if you exclude the latter, how do you include the mules of the TA&L’s that use dies from other known Conder tokens? Do you only include tokens that were clearly issued by a merchant for trade purposes, the so-called commercial tokens? What about counterfeits of those types of tokens? What about pieces that were struck specifically for collectors and were never intended to circulate – including nonsensical mulings, edge variations and the like? What about pieces that are more medalllic in nature – including, but not limited to, much of the Middlesex “National Series” and most of the architectural issues? Do you include only pieces struck in copper, which would have been what was used in trade – but risk not listing off-metal strikes, or things like the Scottish shilling pieces struck in silver or the various off-metal strikes or pieces that ONLY come in metals other than copper? Etc., etc. One does not envy the various authors who had to figure this out before their books were even started!



Figure Six: Problems of inclusion. Top Left: the 1794 Talbot, Allum & Lee cent is not listed in D&H, even though it was struck in England by the same people who were making tokens that were listed. Top Right: Warwickshire 54 IS listed by D&H even though it shares the same obverse as the previous token which wasn't listed. Bottom: Lancashire 59, known as the Kentucky token to American collectors is also listed, despite having no reference to England. It was at least struck in England – but so was the one at the upper left, so why was one listed and one not?

Perhaps the best way is to simply cast a wide net, which is the approach that Dalton & Hamer took. Include all the pieces that seem to even be remotely related and let future collectors sort things out as more information becomes available. Today we're still sorting things out – and the series would lose some of its charm if there were no mysteries left to unravel. It would certainly be even harder to fill the pages of this Journal if that were the case. Several authors have taken a stab at telling us what they think the series should include – the prime example being R. C. Bell in his series of works that broke the larger whole of D&H into smaller, discrete parts. But Bell notoriously included only things that he liked, leaving out huge swaths of tokens, including those made specifically for collectors, myriad edge varieties and many counterfeits of known tokens – consigning thousands of varieties to oblivion (and guaranteeing confusion with collectors if they relied only on his books, who might think they had an extremely rare unlisted variety worth a small fortune instead of something he just didn't want to include which may have been fairly common). More recently our Journal editor Jon Lusk authored a book on what he considers to be the “true” tokens, those issued by actual businesses or people who at least in theory offered to redeem them. Lusk's book leaves out 95% of the tokens listed in D&H, which doesn't make his work wrong in any way – he just cast a much finer net than earlier authors had.

The nice part about the series is that every collector gets to decide for themselves what they consider the “whole” to be. Regardless of what the book includes (especially since D&H has over 5,000 varieties listed, including edge variations), many collectors prefer to bite off a smaller part of the greater whole – whether it's tokens of a single country or locale (for instance, Irish tokens or those of Lancashire), the issues of a specific maker (like Lutwyche or Spence), or maybe just the farthings or only tokens with architectural design, or perhaps (shudder) only those that are slabbed and certified as Proof-67 Red or better. There is no right or wrong way to collect the series of course, and each of us will have a different focus in what we choose to

pursue, including those who take great delight in the minutiae of die varieties in some of the larger issues, often needing a good 10x glass to see the differences – something well known to American collectors where the placement of a dot after a word that differs a fraction of a millimeter may mean a thousand fold difference in price.

Another problem the book has left us is how to handle new discoveries. While D&H cast a wide net, there were certainly things that they missed – no fisherman ever gets them all in one shot. It is perhaps hubris for ANY author to write a book and imply (or even think) that it is complete and error-free. When you use a closed-ended numbering system in a book you are almost always asking for trouble, especially if the things that are listed are in some logical order (including, but not limited to alphabetically, by date, by region or by topic). At the simplest extreme if you have 100 pieces listed alphabetically by legend, A-Z, what happens when you find the 101st piece that starts with the letter J? Do you put it out of order and call it variety 101 (and risk people not being able to find it)? Do you redo the book completely (and risk doing so every time something new is discovered)? Do you invent some way to squeeze it into its proper place (such as calling it variety 27 ½)? Each series seems to handle things differently. Early date large cents preserved the unity of its Sheldon numbers by calling new varieties “NC” varieties – standing for *Non Collectible* when first discovered, but if more than three examples were found the NC was then understood to be *NOW Collectible*. In colonial coins, the New Jersey copper series uses several techniques at the same time – some new varieties were given the next open number for obverse dies and/or letter for reverse dies while other new varieties were given the ½ designation to squeeze it next to a variety it kind of resembled. For Connecticut coppers, which were listed in order based on bust type, legend, punctuation and ornamentation within that legend, a new variety was just given the next available number (obverse) or letter (reverse), depending on which die was new, even if that put the piece completely out of order and nowhere near the other varieties with the same bust or legend type. Some books, especially newer ones by authors who learned from past mistakes, tried to forestall this problem by leaving empty numbers in their listings which would allow for the discovery of new varieties (the best example here is Eric Newman's work on Virginia halfpennies which split the series into two major types, with and without a period after GEORGIVS and numbered the obverse dies sequentially – but left 10 blank numbers between the two types. The foresight paid off since half of those numbers have since been filled with new discoveries!). It's interesting to note that one of the earliest authors on the series, Charles Pye encountered this problem with the first edition of his work in 1796, which was a series of engravings with no real order to them. Pye knew that putting them into some sort of order was important but that it would invariably lead to new discoveries being made. In his second edition, issued in 1801, he now listed the tokens (and far more of them!) alphabetically, and at the end of each letter he left blank circles so that collectors could actually draw in the new varieties. This was an ingenious way to allow new discoveries to be placed somewhere close to where they belonged – if a new token started with the letter G you simply drew it in at the end of the G listings. Unfortunately it wasn't a very practical solution – Pye was a talented engraver, but his readers were perhaps not quite as artistic as there are few (if any) examples of the second edition known with hand drawn illustrations.

D&H chose a different method, one that has caused much confusion, especially with American collectors. New varieties were labeled “bis” and inserted at the number they most resembled. This happened a few times in the book itself where new varieties were found after things had been numbered but before the text was actually printed, allowing for a piece to be mentioned where it would have been located had it been known earlier – and if there was room, a

photo could be squeezed in too⁴. The book also had a section of “Additions and Corrections” where more *bis* varieties were described and illustrated at the end of the book. Since the book was printed other discoveries have been made and new *bis* numbers assigned, both in numismatic journals (mostly the one you are now reading, but also in some British journals) and in auction catalogues.⁵ *Bis* is Latin for “twice” (or “repeat” depending on your translator) and implies that it is a second variety of this type. But what happens if there is a third variety found? Instead of using the Latin word for third, the authors chose to use a Roman numeral following the *bis* designation – so *bis I*, *bis II*, *bis III* etc. In a series like the Camacs some of those *bis* numbers are over half dozen deep – but luckily that series is the extreme, and most just have one or two new varieties. This system is somewhat subjective to be sure – it’s pretty much up to the discoverer or author writing up a discover to decide what the variety most resembles and thus what number to assign the is designation to. In theory it would mean a minor variation of something already listed – the same general design type, but from a different die. But for some series a new discovery doesn’t look anything like a variety already described, so a *bis* number is shoehorned in someplace it doesn’t belong for lack of any better option, as can be seen in the illustration below with the Lancashire 4 bis which would have certainly been listed if the authors had known about it – but resembles nothing else in the Lancashire listings.



Figure Seven: The problems of *bis*. Top row: Dublin 29 and Dublin 29 bis II, the first listed in D&H, the second discovered after that book was printed. In this instance deciding what variety to make this a *bis* of was relatively easy – this was the only variety in D&H to have 5 strings on the obverse harp and since that is what the new variety has, it was a good match. Other *bis* numbers are far more difficult to assign, as is the case with the bottom token – now listed as Lancashire 4 bis, despite it having no resemblance at all to the piece listed as Lancashire 4. But it is a large, penny-sized token and the only pieces of that size in the Lancashire section of D&H were numbers 1-4, and if the goal was to keep pieces of the same size together this was the best fit available – even though it is absolutely confusing and should have its own number!

⁴ For an example where a photo was squeezed in see page 400 where a picture of North Wales 22 bis is inserted – between the pics of 35 and 36 (the description of 22 bis is on the preceding page). But there was often not room to get the photograph inserted anywhere near the correct listing – see page 343 where Anglesey 93 bis is described in the right spot but is illustrated on page 370 which was done after the earlier pages were printed.

⁵ A couple reprints of D&H have included lists of these new discoveries, the first was Alan Davisson’s 1990 reprint and the most recent was Bill McKivor’s 2015 issue, which used the Davisson list as a foundation and built from there. The catalogues of DNW and Baldwin’s, especially the series of three “Basement” sales are especially important for those keeping track of new varieties, and the final two basement sales had new varieties that were not known when the McKivor work was being printed.

We now move from the problems inherent in the past and present to a few thoughts on the future.

One suspects that in the future some series will need a new numbering system to supplant (or replace) the D&H numbers. There is a definite need (especially for the larger series) for better photographs of die varieties and better diagnostic descriptions (what collector hasn't shuddered when the sole descriptive text reads “similar” and doesn't point out what is actually different?). Two larger series that stand to benefit from this increased scrutiny are the Anglesey Druid tokens and the Wilkinson issues (each of which have collectors working on such revisions). But the prime example is the Irish series of Camac issues which has several hundred varieties listed in D&H – and several hundred that are not, making the series difficult for even the most experienced collector. At least one dealer has said that he tries to attribute them “close enough” to a listed variety which is about the best that can be done as long as a high percentage of varieties remain unpublished. If D&H is the bible for the series, then these revised works could be considered the new testaments thereof.

Any sort of revision will make use of the technologies we have today that earlier writers would have simply marveled at. The power of computers, Internet searches, data storage and manipulation and crowd-sourcing in near real time opens up explosive possibilities for the series, as well as for numismatics in general. A model could easily be built using the Wikipedia template – open sourced, allowing for new material to be inserted by users and verified by others. The future may well see an explosion of information on the series, far more than has been published in the last 225 years COMBINED. We may be able to have biographical information of issuers collected in one site that is now spread across hundreds of sites or buried in museums, libraries or historical institutions. Or have all auction records and price list appearances going back a century and more available at the click of a button. Or perhaps the ability to take a photograph of a token with your cellphone and immediately have it attributed for you by software running in the Cloud? All this and more are possible – and much closer to reality than the flying cars we have been promised for the last 50 years!

The 21st century is shaping up to be a fine time for 18th century tokens.

Hopefully our little tour of the Dalton & Hamer book has shown some of the thought the authors put into their presentation – and some of the problems they faced and the repercussions felt by collectors today. Ideally some alert readers will be come up with ways to correct those problems as we move forward. But ALL of those future changes are going to be tied to the past – and the Dalton & Hamer text is a major part of that history. For a book that has been around for the better part of a century, Dalton & Hamer remains more than useful – it is indispensable.

Cumberland Lake Token

By Andrey Filimonov

Certainly, to many Conder token collectors the Cumberland Lake Token D&H2 farthing is known, the obverse of which pictures a pastoral scene with castle ruins on a hill, two floating boats and a tree in the foreground.



As described in R.C. Bell's *Specious tokens and those struck for General Circulation 1784-1804*: “The obverse design may be intended for Castle Crag, near Keswick, in the Cumberland Lake District, upon which stands the ruins of a fort, which is thought to date back to Roman times”, known also as Shoulthwaite Hillfort.

But, having studied this fort's history, I understood that Bell has evidently made a mistake in identification. In the 12th century the fort was already fully destroyed and in the end of the 18th century, when this farthing was struck, at this place, just as nowadays, a plain hill was present. Below are a couple of contemporary photos from the Web (from <http://www.lakedistrict-walks.co.uk>):



Also, in the vicinity of this place there is no river or lake for the boats pictured on the token to freely float.

I tried to find the castle that could have been pictured on the subject token.

As a start, I made a list of all castles in Cumberland of those times. Having studied their history and appearance in the end of the 18th century, and taking into consideration presence of a river or lake nearby, I was left with only two possible variants, namely the Pendragon Castle and the Brougham Castle. After thorough examination of these castles' history and search for antique views of the castles on the late 18th – early 19th century gravures, I was brought to the conclusion that the farthing depicts, most likely, the Brougham Castle.



Brougham Castle and River Eamont. The Ben Lomond Free Press, 2009

The castle was built by an Anglo-Norman landlord Robert I de Vieuxpont in the early 13th century at the site of the Roman fort of Brovacum, situated at the intersection of three Roman roads at the point where the Lowther river falls into the Eamont river being the boundary of two counties at that time, which served as a natural protection of the fort. Initially, the castle was a dungeon surrounded by a palisade on an earthen mound. With the beginning of the Anglo-Scottish wars in 1269 the then current owner of the castle, Robert de Clifford (1274–1314), reinforced it with heavy stone walls and a gate tower, additionally, a four-storey watchtower was built and the citadel also acquired the fourth floor, a double redoubt was created at the North side.

During the 14th century the region bordering with Scotland was constantly raided by the Scots, in 1388 the castle was captured and plundered by them. During the ages to follow the changing owners tried to restore the castle, but in the early 18th century all the furniture was sold and in the middle of the century the building was used as a source of construction material for the Brougham village. Since then the attempts to restore the castle ceased. By

the end of the 18th century the picturesque Lake District became popular with the English and the castle ruins attracted many a romantic tourist, including poets and artists, who dedicated a lot of their works to this land.



Postcard with the Brougham Castle gravure made by T. Allom based on S Lacey's 1834 original.

The confluent rivers of Lowther and Eamont connect the lakes Ullswater and Haweswater with the river Eden, beginning near the Pendragon castle and winding its way from South to the North across Westmorland and Cumberland counties and falling into the Solway gulf connected to the Irish Sea. Down the Eden river the goods from the two counties were transported by barges to Carlisle being the starting point for the large sail ships bound for the sea.

Based on Bell's information, (R.C. Bell *Specious tokens and those struck for General Circulation 1784-1804*) the farthing was minted by James Skidmore to be sold to collectors.

(These notes and pictures are from Richard Coult, continuing the information flow on modern pieces. – Editor)

Reproductions

(Continued from previous Journals)

JOHN WILKINSON HALFPENNY 1790

But issued 150 years or more after it should have been! Curious 29mm copper token apparently struck from original dies, possibly c1950. Rare and one of only two I remember owning. I seem to recall it is illustrated in one of Bell's works, but I may be mistaken. This Wilkinson token is similar to Warwickshire 425, copper with plain edge. Bought as an early 20th century reproduction from Alan Judd.



Below is another WILKINSON piece, this dated 1793, similar to Warwickshire 461c (plain edge) but in brass.



Suffolk, Haverhill token dated 1784 similar to Suffolk 31 but dated 1784, with plain edge to celebrate the bicentenary of D. Gurteen & Sons. (Additional info sheet included.)

D. GURTEEN & SONS 1784 - 1984

On 28th September 1984,
D. Gurteen & Sons Ltd., celebrate their
bi-centenary.

To mark this great occasion the
Directors have had specially minted a
replica of the 'Haverhill Manufactory'
token coin, a halfpenny which was used
to pay the employees by the founder
Daniel Gurteen in 1784.

In those days the average weekly
wage was only about three shillings and
as the coinage of the realm was in such
short supply, local businessmen, for the
good of the people (Pro Bono Publico),
minted their own coinage.

This could be used by their
employees to buy goods in the locality
and was redeemed by the traders at the
Manufactory for either coinage of the
realm or notes.

The obverse of the coin depicts a
weaver at work on a loom.

The reverse shows the company's
crest — a hind's head with a mulberry
branch in it's mouth and the initials of
the maker J. F. — John Fincham.

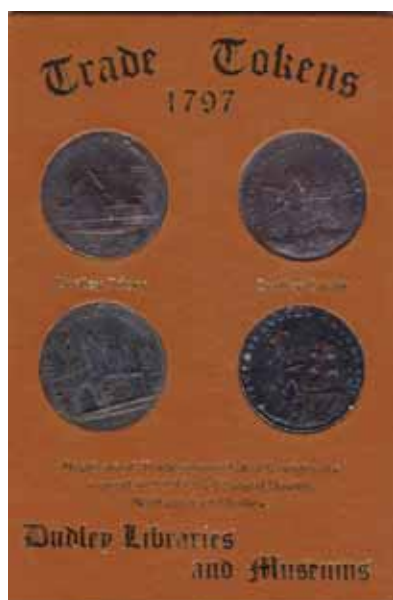
Ten hundredweight of the tokens
were originally minted and this replica
encapsulated in perspex has been
reproduced from surviving examples still
in the possession of D. Gurteen & Sons



Devon, Exeter token dated 1792 similar to Devon 2-3 with plain edge, one in brass and one in copper.



Worcestershire, Dudley Priory and Castle tokens set, dated 1797 where dated, similar to Worcestershire tokens 2, 3, 4, and 5. Countermarked on reverse between 10 & 2 o'clock with DUDLEY MUSEUMS and at 5 o'clock with the date 1973. (See additional information sheets.)



Middlesex, Tower of London token dated 1797 similar to Middlesex 89 with edge reading “I PROMISE TO PAY ON DEMAND THE BEARER ONE PENNY”. “c” countermark at 5 o’clock on reverse.



Editor's note: Richard also indicated that he possessed both of the Shropshire reproductions covered in the original article in issue #70.

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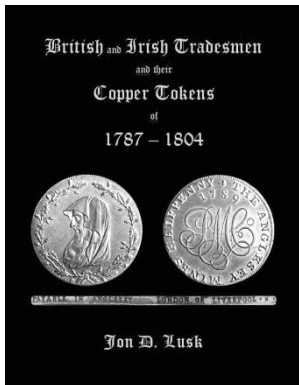
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